

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02678 01 OF 02 201920Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----120824 201927Z /41

R 201838Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4982
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2678

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JO, LE, EG, IS, SA, SY
SUBJECT: SYRIAN PERMREP ON MIDDLE EAST

SUMMARY: SYRIAN PERMREP ALLAF PRAISES CARTER MIDDLE EAST POLICY, BUT URGES US TO SHOW RESULTS IF OUR CREDIBILITY WITH ARABS IS TO BE PRESERVED.

1. SYRIAN PERMREP ALLAF RETURNING FROM LEAVE IN US, NOT DAMASCUS, ARRANGED LUNCH WITH AMBASSADOR LEONARD AUGUST 19.

2. ALLAF OPENED DISCUSSION WITH RATHER NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT OF RESULTS OF VANCE'S TRIP, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED IT HAD PRODUCED CONTINUING DISCUSSION ON ARAB SIDE OF WAYS TO DEAL WITH PROBLEM OF PLO, RESOLUTION 242, AND MAKE-UP OF DELEGATION FOR GENEVA CONFERENCE. HE SAID PLO IS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM MODERATE ARABS TO MODIFY ITS POSTURE ON 242 AND RIGHT OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02678 01 OF 02 201920Z

ISRAEL TO EXIST,BUT POINTED TO INTERNAL PROBLEMS WITHIN PLO AND URGED THAT US "DO SOMETHING" TO ASSIST MODERATES IN PLO TO TAKE FAVORABLE DECISIONAND MAKE IT STICK. HIS FIRST RESPONSE TO QUERY ON WHAT THIS US ACTION MIBHT BE, REITERATED AT SEVERAL POINTS DURING DISCUSSION, WAS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG TO ACCEPT PRIVATE INVITATIION TO SOCIAL MEETING WITH HIMSELF, OTHER ARAB AMBASSADORS AND PLO REP

TERZI. LEONARD WENT OVER US POSITION WHICH EXCLUDED THIS POSSIBILITY WHILE UNDERLINING POSITIVE POSSIBILITIES IF PLO WOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE POSITION AND NOT ANNUL IT NEXT DAY. ALLAF ACKNOWLEDGED VALIDITY OF OUR CONCERN THAT PLO MIGHT REAFFIRM ITS CONVENT, REFERRED TO PROVOCATIVE CHARTER OF LIKUD BUT CLEARLY TOOK THE POINT.

3. ALLAF OUTLINED SCENARIO FOR SECURITY COUNCIL AND GA THIS FALL ON FOLLOWING LINES: FIRST, SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD CONSIDER PALESTINIAN QUESTION PERHAPS IN CONNECTION WITH REQUIRED DEBATE ON REPORT OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE. TO LEONARD'S INQUIRY ON TIMING HE RESPONDED THAT IT SHOULD BE BEFORE THE GA OPENS OR AT LATEST BEFORE MIDDLE EAST IS DEBATED IN GA. LEONARD URGED ANY SUCH ACTIVITY BE DELAYED UNTIL AFTER SEPTEMBER ROUND OF MEETINGS ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

4. ALLAF HOPED THIS SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE WOULD PRODUCE CONSENSUS OUTCOME STRONGLY ENDORSING AND IN NO WAY MODIFYING 242 AND 338 BUT "COMPLEMENTING" THEM WITH MISSING THIRD ELEMENT, RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS. HE URGED LEONARD TO REVIEW DRAFT RESOLUTION VETOED BY US IN SECURITY COUNCIL ON JANUARY 26, 1976, AS WELL AS JUNE 1976 REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS. HE PARTICULARLY DREW ATTENTION TO STATEMENT BY FAROUK KADDOUMI IN LATTER CONTEXT. ALLAF POINTED OUT THAT CONSENSUS OUTCOME TO THIS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02678 01 OF 02 201920Z

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE WOULD BE WHOLLY IN LINE WITH POSITIONS WHICH HAVE NOW BEEN TAKEN BY ALL MAJOR POWERS REGARDING MIDDLE EAST. ALLAF REFERRED TO SUGGESTIONS ABOUT AMENDING 242, HE THOUGHT FROM FRANCE (HE WAS PERHAPS REFERRING TO DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED IN PARIS 23881). HE MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS NOT URGING REVISION OF 242, BUT ADDITION OF NEW ELEMENT THROUGH NEW SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF SUCH A RESOLUTION IN THE COUNCIL THE GA WOULD DEBATE THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM AND REACH A PARALLEL CONCLUSION. AT SOME POINT IN THIS SCENARIO THE PLO WOULD ACCEPT THE NEW PACKAGE AND THE STAGE WOULD BE SET FOR CONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

6. ALLAF NEITHER PRAISED NOR CRITICIZED THE CONCEPT OF A UNITED ARAB DELEGATION, BUT APPEARED TO BE ACCEPTING SOMETHING ON THESE LINES.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02678 02 OF 02 201933Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----120905 201938Z /64

R 201838Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4983
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2678

EXDIS

7. THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION ALLAF PLEADED FOR FURTHER
MOVEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST QUESTION. HE ARGUED THAT ISRAEL
MOVES AT A GLACIAL RATE ON NEGOTIATION, BUT IS NOW MOVING
BRISKLY TO CREATE A SERIES OF FAITS ACCOMPLIS ENDING WITH
ANNEXATION OF THE WEST BANK OR OF ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.
HE SUGGESTED ISRAEL WOULD BEFORE LONG PROVOKE A NEW WAR,
OCCUPY ADDITIONAL TERRITORY AND THEN, AS IN 1967, TRANS-
FER THE DEBATE TO ONE OVER RELINQUISHMENT OR RETENTION OF
THESE NEWLY OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE REPEATEDLY PRAISED
PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE US ATTITUDE GENERALLY, BUT UNDERLINED
THAT OUR CREDIBILITY COULD NOT SURVIVE IF BEGIN WAS "PER-
MITTED TO GET AWAY" WITH HIS REPEATED UNILATERAL ACTIONS.
HE ARGUED THAT BEGIN IS TOTALLY INSINCERE ABOUT NEGOTIATING A
SETTLEMENT, AND ONLY HEAVY US PRESSURE CAN PERSUADE OTHER
ISRAELIS THAT BEGIN' POLICY IS HARMFUL. SOME EVIDENCE
THAT US WILL EXERT PRESSURE TO A POINT THAT AFFECTS IS-
RAELI ACTION IS NEEDED SOONEST, HE MAINTAINED.
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02678 02 OF 02 201933Z

8. TURNING TO SOUTH LEBANON ALLAF ASKED LEONARD WHAT
WAS PROSPECT THERE. LEONARD INDICATED THAT VANCE MISSION
HAD CONCLUDED THAT WAS NOT ADEQUATE SUPPORT IN THIS AREA FOR A

UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE. ALLAF AGREED, AND ASKED WHAT WE WERE DOING TO GET ISRAEL TO STOP ITS ACTIVITIES ACROSS ISRAELI-LEBANON BORDER. LEONARD UNDERLINED DIFFICULTY OF PERSUADING ISRAELIS THAT SYRIAN INTENTIONS WERE NOT INIMICAL TO ISRAELI INTERESTS AND WONDERED WHAT SYRIA COULD DO TO HELP US. ALL AF LAUGHED AND EXPLAINED HE COULD NOT HELP BUT BE AMUSED AT GROTESQUE CHARACTER OF SITUATION IN WHICH SYRIA HAD TO THINK ABOUT WAYS TO REASSURE ISRAEL SO THAT ISRAEL WOULD STOP DOING THINGS WHICH IT HAD NO RIGHT TO DO. HE PROMISED, HOWEVER, TO LOOK INTO THE POSSIBILITIES. HE AGREED THAT BEST HOPE WAS RAPID BUILDUP OF LEBANESE CAPABILITY TO IMPOSE LAW AND ORDER ON CONTENDING ARMED BANDS THROUGHOUT DISTRICT.

9. COMMENT: ALLAF'S ATTITUDE WAS FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT, OFFERING FREQUENTLY TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL MATERIALS ON HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, ETC., BUT HE MADE CLEAR HIS TOTAL MISTRUST OF BEGIN AND OF MOST ISRAELIS, AND HIS LACK OF CONFIDENCE THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO EXERT MEANINGFUL PRESSURES ON ISRAEL. HE AT NO POINT SUGGESTED THAT ARABS WERE CONSIDERING MILITARY OPTION, BUT RATHER THAT POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH US COULD NOT FAIL TO SUFFER THIS AUTUMN AS GA BRINGS OUT ABSENCE OF MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS.
LEONARD

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TAGS: PDEV, PORC, JO, LE, EG, IS, SA, SY, US
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